1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle gen-
[591] erations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

These persons, whom a man calls "brothers" and "sisters," remain in a special relationship to him throughout his life. As will be seen in the study of the village of Sawari (following chapter), "brothers" tend to group together to form a settlement and assist one another in social and economic affairs in the settlement. They support one another in feuds and retaliation. A woman's brothers support her against a cruel or lazy husband. In all activities the members of the group of parallel relatives cooperate more closely than do other relatives. Membership in the group begins at birth and continues for life. Due to the customs regulating residence after marriage, there is no necessary connection between locality and the kin.

The Extended Family. A third type of grouping is the extended family, the immediate family which is, in other words, extended by marriage of its members. When a girl marries, her husband becomes, for a time at least, intimately associated with her family, because of the custom requiring the husband to perform services before marriage under the eye of his future father-in-law and after marriage to live in the father-in-law's settlement, usually at least until the birth of the first child. Thus a family, upon the marriage of its daughters, from one point of view undergoes a special transformation consequent upon the addition of strangers in the persons of sons-in-law. The sons-in-law, however, do not take the place of the sons who through marriage have joined other extended families. The husbands of the daughters are not taken into the family, which still maintains its biological limits and individuality. This is shown by the fact that special deference is paid to parents-in-law. During the period that marriage remains matrilocal, the sons-in-law cooperate actively with the fathers-in-law and with other members of the latter's families who still remain at home. Later opportunity or preference usually impels the younger man to move elsewhere, but a bond still remains between the husband and his wife's kindred which is reflected in mutual cooperation. This bond is, however, slighter than that uniting a man and his parallel kin. With the death of the wife or of the father-in-law mutual obligations are considered ended.[1]

[1] "Among the Roucuyenne and Orinoko Caribs an extensive connection between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law has arisen which has led to a regular hierarchy of graded affinal relations." Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*, p. 189.